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► To cite this version:

Natacha Aveline-Dubach. The Change in Sacred Space under the Pressure of Land Markets in Central Tokyo. Annual conference of the Association of Asian Studies, Apr 2006, San Francisco, United States. halshs-00821610

HAL Id: halshs-00821610

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00821610>

Submitted on 11 May 2013

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Working paper presented at the conference of the Association of Asian Studies, San Francisco, April 6-9, 2006, Panel “Conflicts in the economy of sacred space in China and Japan”.

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The Change in Sacred Space under the Pressure of Land Markets in Central Tokyo

From 1950 to 1991, rapid urban growth and inflating land values in Japan significantly affected the pattern of religious space in Tokyo. Temples and shrines located in the central area underwent a dramatic decrease of their parishioners, due to the massive construction of office buildings and the subsequent shift of population from the center to the suburbs. Buddhist and Shinto communities were encouraged to draw new financial resources from their valuable land holdings, and to construct non-religious facilities in their precincts. Yet the strategy of the two communities has substantially differed. The most notable difference between them is the fact that Buddhists are deeply involved in cemetery development and funeral services, whereas Shinto are not much concerned by death. This paper examines the contrasted strategies of the two types of communities regarding the redevelopment of their landed properties.

The first section deals with the distinctive Buddhist tradition of death management in Japan, and the subsequent involvement of Buddhist communities in cemetery redevelopment and funeral services. The second section will examine how the separation of State and religion, after 1947, has driven Shinto communities to build non-religious facilities in the precincts of the shrines. The third section examines the effects of the so-called “land bubble” (1985-1991) on the extra-religious diversification pattern of both Shinto and Buddhist properties; it provides an approximate assessment of the magnitude of “secular” construction in the shrines and temples of Tokyo’s four central wards, based on the use of housing maps (*jûtaku chizu*).

1. The Buddhist tradition of death management

Buddhism was introduced in Japan through Korea in the 6th century AD –about 1000 years after the death of the Buddha. By the time Buddhism had taken root in Japan, an often mutually tolerant presence of three systems –Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism –existed. Buddhism was not immediately accepted, but it was able to integrate and adapt to the needs of Japanese people. For example, Buddhism gradually included the indigenous Shinto beliefs as a part of its own identity. As Buddhism progressively emerged as a religion for the aristocracy, Buddhist monasteries began to gain immense political power. When the samurai class unified the country under the leadership of shogun Tokugawa Ieasu in the Edo Period (1600-1867), Christians became the target of military

leadership. To eradicate Christianity, the Tokugawa government decreed, in 1640, that all commoners must be affiliated with a Buddhist temple. As a result of this edict, Buddhist monks gained the status of leaders in their local communities; they were responsible for birth, marriage, divorce, and death registrations (Suzuki, 2009). Death rituals and burial sites came almost totally under their control.

In the late nineteenth century, Japan's opening to the world challenged the Buddhist monopoly on death. Four large public cemeteries were opened in Tokyo's suburbs, i.e. Aoyama, Yanaka, Zôshigaya and Somei Cemeteries in 1872. The concern was not only to catch up with the new standards of hygiene developed in the Western countries, but also to provide graves for non-Buddhists, such as foreign residents and Shinto worshippers. Shinto had become State religion after the Meiji Restoration (1868), so distinctive Shinto funerals had been developed. From that period onwards, approximately one large public cemetery was developed every ten years in Tokyo. However, this trend came to an end with the dramatic rise of land prices in the 1960s, under the influence of double-digit economic growth. The last large public cemetery to be developed was the Hachioji Cemetery. It was opened in 1971, and became saturated as early as 1987 (Kawano, 2003). To cope with the dramatic scarcity of burial sites, private companies were allowed to develop cemeteries. A growing number of private cemeteries and columbaria have been opened in Tokyo's suburbs over the past four decades, but the scarcity of burial sites remains a primary concern.

According to the official statistics, only 40 public cemeteries have been developed over a period of 120 years in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area¹. In addition, half of these funeral sites are located in the small islands of the Tokyo Bay (Tables 1 and 2). There are far more private cemeteries. Amounting to 2,753 sites in the Metropolitan Area, they are in addition mainly located in the 23 wards (1,909 graveyards, compared with 6 public cemeteries). But this figure reflects the myriads of cramped and saturated old Buddhist graveyards concentrated in Tokyo's centre. In the rural areas, farmers used to dig graves on their fields. This practice was forbidden for hygienic reasons after the Meiji Restoration, but existing family graveyards could be maintained. In 2003, 6,104 family graveyards were still left in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area, mainly in the rural areas of Tama.

The current regulations restrict the right to develop cemeteries to three categories of operators, i. e. religious juridical persons (*shûkyô hôjin*, mostly Buddhists), public authorities, and juridical persons for public interest (*kôeki hôjin*). Non-religious private companies operating in cemetery development, usually property developers or grave builders, have to comply with third-category² regulations. They must establish a foundation in charge of the sale of burial lots and the management of the cemetery. A good example of such an initiative is provided by the *Fuji Reien*, a large-scale cemetery – said to be the largest of Asia with around 60 000 burial lots-, developed in the 1960s by the Mitsubishi group, near the famous Japanese volcano.

However, creating a foundation requires a substantial amount of capital. Private operators therefore tend to operate in the name of a religious juridical person (*shûkyô hôjin*) – in fact, a Buddhist temple. A religious juridical person has the right to run profitable non-religious activities, provided these activities meet the 33 categories listed in the fifth article of the Juridical Person Tax Act (*Hôjinzei hô*), which include the sale of goods. Agreements to use the name of a *shûkyô hôjin* are often contracted with Buddhist communities whose temples are located in Tokyo's centre. These communities need to increase their earnings, either because they do not have a graveyard, or because they are facing a severe loss of parishioners, due to the shift of households into the suburbs. Private operators do not usually develop cemeteries close to the temple. Rather, they select sizeable development sites in the suburban areas, especially where construction is restricted and land can be consequently acquired at reasonable prices. Settling such agreements with religious institutions most probably requires a sizable amount of funds, but no information is available on this delicate issue. The media have nevertheless occasionally pointed out the dubious nature of these agreements. This has recently led the Tokyo Metropolitan Government to remove the official list of religious institutions on its territory from public access.

Burial lots can be sold at a very high price per square meter, considering the fact that the purchase of burial land involves a mere 0.5-1.5 square meter, and that the right to land is not limited in time (ownership of graves is usually sold with

“eternal use”, *eitai shiyô*³). During the peak of the last land boom-bust cycle, in the late 1980s, burial lots in the most sought-after private graveyards of Tokyo – such as, for example, the Baisoin Cemetery in Aoyama- were sold for as much as US\$150,000 (grave included). Land markets experienced a dramatic decrease after 1991, and stabilized by 2005, but the cost of burial lots in central Tokyo is still excessive by international standards: approximately ¥2 to 3 million, US\$17,000 to 25,500, for a 0.5 square meter lot.

The ageing population tends to exacerbate the scarcity of burial sites. Despite its worldwide top-ranking longevity, Japan is undergoing a rapid increase in deceases. The country is currently reaching one million cases nationwide on a yearly basis, and it is expected that deceases will increase twofold in the next four decades. The increasing demand for graves is also underpinned by the growing desire amongst elderly people to handle the matter of funerals long before their death. Buddhist communities are thus compelled by their parishioners to increase the supply of their burial sites. However, they do not have much space left to maneuver. Their graveyards are already saturated, and any extension requires heavy and risky investment in land purchase. Their current strategy is therefore to rationalize the use of existing graveyards. Abandoned graves are systematically redeveloped and converted into new burial sites. A grave is considered as having been “abandoned” when the annual maintenance fees have not been paid for ten years. To recycle grave lots, potential heirs must be sought and advertisements must be published, to make

sure that no one is likely to claim their right over the burial lot. Despite the burdensome nature of this procedure, it is worth going through with it, as profitable earnings can be expected from the grave recycling.

In order to increase the supply of burial sites, graveyards can also be partly or totally converted into columbaria. Referred to as *nôkotsudô*, Japanese columbaria are small-size multistory constructions, containing small altars and cupboards for funeral urns that look like left-luggage lockers – hence their nickname “locker-like graves” (*lokka-shiki ohaka*, Fig.1). In 2003, 236 *nôkotsudô* were inventoried in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. The major share (80%) was located in the cramped Buddhist graveyards of central Tokyo. The very slow pace of *nôkotsudô* construction in Tokyo’s outskirts is quite surprising, given the overall use of cremation⁴. It can be explained by the tradition of visiting graves during the death festivals (O-bon in August, and in the two equinoxes). When graves are located in the remote suburbs, the visit to the ancestor requires a one-day trip, and often turns into a family picnic (Aveline, Jimenez, 2000). Therefore, private developers tend to provide graves in park-like cemeteries rather than in indoor facilities like *nôkotsudô*. Buddhist communities of the suburbs also do not hesitate to convert natural sites surrounding their temples into new burial lots or funeral parlors. It gives them further opportunities to expand their funeral services.

Buddhist communities draw resources not only from the sale of burial lots, but also from a wide range of funeral services. They supply the deceased with *kaimyô* names⁵ (which price vary according to the selected ideograms⁶), and perform funeral ceremonies, such as memorial services for the deceased. Memorial services, which occur on death anniversaries, and continue until the 33rd or 50th anniversary, strongly contribute to providing temples with regular earnings. Buddhist monks charge from ¥0.3 to 2 million (US\$2,550 to 17,000) for funeral ceremonies. The total cost of a funeral amounts on average to ¥5 million nationwide (US\$42,500), but much higher levels are observed in Tokyo and Osaka, where burial lots are the most expensive.

2. Early extra-religious diversification by the Shinto communities

Contrary to the Buddhists, Shinto communities have no traditions concerning death. Shinto is the cluster of beliefs and customs of the Japanese people centering in the *kami*, a term which designates spiritual entities, forces, or qualities that are believed to exist everywhere, in man or in nature. Because Shinto revered *kami* in the form of natural objects such as mountains, trees and stones, it was not originally related to any type of man-made structure. However, the custom developed of building “temporary” sacred buildings for the visitations of *kami* spirits during festivals, and from these beginnings *jinja* (usually referred to as shrines) came to be built as permanent structures, the first one going back to 300 AD.

The stress put by Shinto beliefs on purity long restrained Shinto priests from dealing with impure and polluting matters such as death. It was only after having become State religion, at the end of the nineteenth century, that Shinto started to deal with funerals⁷. However, Shinto funerals did not expand much, apart from the widely broadcast emperors' funerals and memorial rituals for the war dead in Yasukuni Jinja⁸. Therefore, development of graveyards in the shrine precincts has not been the concern of Shinto communities, although some attempts have been recently observed in the Shitamachi area⁹ (Duteil-Ogata, 2006).

After the defeat, in 1945, the Allied Occupation authority regarded the abolition of the State Shinto as a priority. Their strong belief was that Japan's ultranationalism, militarism, and aggressiveness, were rooted in the State Shinto cult (Woodard, 1972). They adopted a new constitution, which incorporated the principle of separation of religion and State (articles 20 and 49), and provided further legislation to secure this principle. Shinto shrines could no longer enjoy financial support from the State, and Shinto officers had to find regular jobs to survive¹⁰.

The loss of financial support from the State was aggravated by a dramatic shift of population from rural to urban areas, especially during the High Growth period (1955-1973). As a result, rural Shinto shrines lost many of their parishioners; while in urban areas Shinto communities were faced with the

secularization of society, even though religious festivals worshipping local *kami* (*matsuri*) have been remarkably perpetuated until the present day. Facing eroding resources, Shinto officers had to find complementary earnings to balance their budgets. In 1947, religious institutions recovered their rights over land¹¹ which had been taken by the State five decades earlier, after the Meiji Restoration. In a context of booming land values, religious land in central Tokyo came to be regarded as highly valuable. Some Shinto priests decided to take advantage of their land holdings, and started to develop non-religious activities in the precincts of the shrines. Rental parking lots and retail facilities were incorporated into religious constructions. The Suitengu shrine, located in the Chuo ward, offers a good example of this early extra-religious diversification; part of its ground floor is occupied by small retail shops and a large monthly rental parking. Other shrines were rebuilt and incorporated into low-rise constructions with shopping malls. Although it was new to seek rental earnings from landed properties, it is worth noticing that Shinto shrines were already used to dealing with small shops, either on their premises (for the sale of charms¹² supplied by the shrine) or in their vicinity (temporary stalls occupying space during the *matsuri* festivals).

Bringing together religious and non-religious activities in the precincts of the shrines is not an easy matter, as Shinto rulers have strictly regulated the separation of functions. Non-religious buildings must supposedly be separated from the main hall of the shrine. However, this requirement is very difficult to

meet in central Tokyo, where shrines most often occupy a tiny plot. It has therefore been permitted to construct multistory buildings incorporating religious space, provided that the main hall is located on the ground floor. The contact of the main hall with the ground is of utmost importance, as land is considered sacred by Shinto beliefs. Before the construction of any house or other building, it is customary to have a Shinto ceremony known as *jichinsai*, or groundbreaking ceremony, in which the local gods are asked to bestow their blessings and to protect the house. When worshippers clap their hands inside the shrine, the *kami* are expected to transit into a sacred continuum, rooted on the ground. To install the main hall of the shrine on the ground floor is thus the only way to secure this continuity in a multistory construction.

The diversification of Shinto shrines towards non-religious businesses was nevertheless exceptional in the three decades following the war. It occurred mostly from 1964 -after the redevelopment of Tokyo for the Olympic games- to the early 1970's. In 1973, the first oil shock put a chill on land markets. For the first time since the end of the war, land prices decreased. But they recovered the following year, and continued to increase further, though at a slow pace, until 1983 when the so-called "land bubble" took place. Its impact on non-religious diversification was far more important than that of the previous boom-bust cycles.

3. The "land bubble" of the late 1980s and its impact on the pattern of religious landed properties

The rise in the price of land took place in Tokyo's central business districts, in 1983. It spread further to residential zones, gained the whole territory of Tokyo Metropolitan Area, and finally expanded all over the country. But the sharpest increase occurred in the five central wards, i.e. Chiyoda, Chuo, Minato, Shinjuku and Shibuya. From 1983 to 1991, land values for office and retail use rose by 6.5 times, reaching an average level of ¥17.6 million (\$149,600) per sq. meter (Fig. 3).

Inflating land values went together with massive urban renewal projects in central Tokyo, stimulated by the drastic deregulation of building and urban-planning rules (Aveline, 2004). Religious properties also became a target for land redevelopment schemes. The numerous Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples located in Tokyo's five central wards (116 and 45, respectively) were seen as particularly strategic. They could either be redeveloped into middle-rise multistory buildings, or included in more large-scale redevelopment projects. In the latter case, the original boundaries of the religious space would disappear -all parcels being put in common between land-owners -, but new facilities for the cult would be constructed in counterpart, and the priests would receive rental earnings from the new office, residential or retail buildings.

Shinto and Buddhist chief officers, whose shrines or temples were located in the most prestigious sites of central Tokyo, were systematically contacted by property developers. Most often, it was suggested to the priests that their

religious facilities should be rebuilt and incorporated into multistory buildings. The use of the building would depend on the nature of the local property market. In the central business districts, 6-7 story office buildings could be constructed, whereas in residential zones were only allowed low or medium-rise condominiums (Fig.4). Monthly rental parking sites could also be constructed on separate land in residential areas.

A few redevelopment projects included a Buddhist temple with a graveyard. In that case, the problem of rights over burial lots has to be handled. Graveyards are often facing the street, which means that they have to be crossed over to reach the main entrance of the temple. It would be unfeasible to keep the graveyard facing the street and to settle an office or a residential building behind it. Hence the solution is to relocate –in fact, to hide- the graves behind the new construction. The Buddhist chief monk has to negotiate the transfer of rights over the burial lots with each owner. This procedure is time-consuming, but easy to handle, as owners of burial lots are generally flexible about the transfer; they can seize the opportunity to reconstruct their family grave at a low price, the rental earnings of the new building covering the cost of the transfer. What is more, the rebuilding of the temple prevents them from having to assume repair costs in the future.

During the “bubble” period, religious properties were also involved in large-scale redevelopment projects, though only in exceptional cases. Some of these projects also involved the relocation of burial lots. The reconstruction of the

temple Jofuji was one of the earliest cases involving a temple and its graveyard in a redevelopment scheme. Located in the business district of West Shinjuku, the Jofuji occupies a most valuable site, where land values ranked highest in the world in the late 1980s –a parcel nearby was appraised at ¥38.5 million (\$330,750 at the current rate) per square meter in 1991 by the National Land Agency. In the mid-1980s, a private developer offered to help the Buddhist monks launch a joint renewal project with the owner of the adjacent parcel, occupied by a gasoline station. Both owners agreed to cooperate, and to construct a high-rise office building and a six-story condominium. The gasoline station remained on the site, but the temple and its graveyard was totally reconstructed to free enough land for the “secular buildings”. The main hall of the temple was relocated on the ground floor of a small building, while the upper floors are occupied by a *nôkotsudô*, to which all the graves have been transferred (Fig. 5). The old bell is the only legacy of the previous temple, and it has therefore been carefully kept in a new belfry.

Another example of urban redevelopment involving religious properties and graveyards is the Atago Green Hills project, conducted by the major local private developer Mori Building. Located in the sought-after area of Atagoyama in Minato ward, this mixed-use development project of 3,8 hectares was completed over a 20 years period by a joint-venture of 9 partners, among which are three Buddhist temples –all more than 300 years old.

The major temple of the project is the Seishoji temple. Its main hall has remained in the same place, but the other facilities have been rebuilt to allow the construction of two high-rise towers: a 42-story residential building with a total floor area of 52,290 square-meters (354 one to three-bedroom luxury apartments) and a 42-story office tower with a total floor area of 86,640 square-meters (Fig. 6). The construction of these space-intensive buildings has made it possible to provide open space in the low-level sections of the two towers. The Seishoji had a large graveyard on the top of an adjacent hill, on a very nice site well exposed to the sunshine. All the graves have been transferred down the hill, and hidden behind the temple. The previous graveyard has given place to a green walking area, connecting the various facilities with each other.

This project shows how it can be profitable, from both economic and urban-planning viewpoints, to incorporate religious space into large redevelopment projects. The Atagoyama area has always been regarded as a valuable site for historical and culturally important temples and shrines. The development philosophy, preserving the topography and greenery of this area while making use of the important inner-city landscape resource, has successfully preserved the balance between economic and aesthetic objectives.

To what extent did the land boom affect the land-use pattern of religious space in central Tokyo? The Housing Maps (*jûtaku chizu*) provide some insight. Published every year, these documents similar to cadastral maps give a rather comprehensive view of the shape and occupation of each parcel. They display

the name of each landowner, and provide information on the buildings erected on the land (shape and number of stories); *nôkotsudô* may even be mentioned, though not systematically. There are nevertheless some limits to the use of these documents. First, it is very difficult to infer the use of the multistory buildings from the maps. In particular, the distinction between religious and non-religious uses is difficult to grasp. Secondly, the ownership and the use of the parking facilities (for rental purposes versus for self-use) are not clearly displayed. A similar problem of ownership limits for graveyards makes difficult the detailed account of Buddhist graveyards.

Despite their limits, housing maps are the most suitable source to observe the land-use pattern in the precincts of temples and shrines. Using these documents, the current situation was examined for religious properties in four central wards: Chiyoda, Chuo, Minato and Shinjuku wards. Altogether, these wards host 363 Buddhist temples and 95 Shinto shrines, excluding *inari* shrines¹³.

Temples and shrines are very limited in number in the central wards, Chiyoda and Chuo (Table 3). This is a legacy of the Edo period, during which temples and shrines were progressively relocated at distance from the shogun castle (now Imperial Palace). Yet one-fifth of the 51 temples and shrines (5 of each category) have been redeveloped into multistory construction. The size of the buildings ranges from 2 to 11 stories, but is on average around 6-7 stories. Only 5 parking sites have been constructed, and no building was under construction in 2003.

The two other wards share the common feature of having a larger surface, and of being less central than the two previous wards. During the Edo Era, Buddhist communities from Chiyoda and Chuo wards were relocated to these peripheral areas, which, as a result, nowadays have a sizeable number of temples (202 and 138 in Minato and Shinjuku wards, respectively). It is worth noticing that only 69% of these temples have a graveyard (234 out of 340 in the two wards). However, construction of *nôkotsudô* seems to have been active in Minato ward. Another interesting finding is the low number of buildings and parking facilities in the shrine precincts (only 6 multistory buildings, including 3 under construction in 2003, and 8 parking facilities in the two wards). By contrast, non-religious construction by Buddhist monks has been quite substantial. Forty-four multistory buildings have been erected in the temple precincts (not including 10 buildings or *nôkotsudô* under construction), accounting for 13% of the total number of temples. Parking construction has been equally active, with a total of 59 facilities. It is not clear, however, to what extent these facilities –often associated with cemeteries–, are intended to provide rental earnings.

Conclusion

Our survey has shown the strong effect of the last boom-bust land cycle on sacred space in central Tokyo. “Secularization” has taken place in the form of multistory buildings and parking facilities in the precincts of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. Multistory buildings –mostly for office use– have been

inventoried in 60 temples and shrines (10 and 40, respectively), out of a total of 458. Parking facilities total 72 units. It is not possible to ascertain that all these new constructions have been allotted to non-religious purposes, as the housing maps do not provide sufficiently comprehensive details. However, it can be assumed that the share of constructions providing regular earnings is high.

The pressure of land markets, together with a booming demand for graves, has also brought about a noticeable change in the pattern of Buddhist graveyards in central Tokyo. Construction of *nôkotsudô* has been particularly active in Minato ward, and to a lesser extent in Shinjuku ward. However, these facilities have not expanded as much as could have been expected, given the dramatic lack of burial space in Tokyo. In fact, a sizeable number of Buddhist temples are deprived of a graveyard: 128 temples in the four selected ward, amounting to 35% of the total. Buddhist communities therefore tend to seek agreements with private companies to develop cemeteries in their name in the suburbs.

Although Shinto communities were the first to develop non-religious activities, it must be pointed out that only a few multistory buildings and parking lots have actually been constructed in the precincts of the shrines. This might be related to the distinctive approach of Shinto priests towards financial matters. Contrary to the Buddhist monks, who have a business-friendly attitude, Shinto priests are reluctant to deal with money. Therefore, drawing earnings from a sacred asset, such as land, can be regarded as being wrong.

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Illustrations

Table 1. Burial sites in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area (2003)

	Public cemeteries	Private (juridical persons)	Family graveyards	Mixed graveyards	Japanese colombaria <i>Nôkotsudô</i>	Total
23 wards	6	1,909	202	31	190	2,338
Tama area	14	834	5,902	832	44	7,626
Islands	20	10	-	2	2	34
Total Prefecture	40	2,753	6,104	865	236	9,998

Source : Tokyo Metropolitan Government, *Tôkyô-to eisei nenpo*, n°55, p.306.

Table 2. Religious institutions in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area (2002)

	Shinto shrines	<i>Inari</i> shrines	Buddhist temples	Christian Institutions	Others (<i>senti</i>)	Total
3 central wards	60	44	268	23	17 (16)	412
5 central wards	116	58	453	75	83 (74)	785
23 wards	748	226	2,213	334	828	4,349
Other areas	584	51	661	120	178 (171)	1,594
Total Prefecture	1,332	277	2,874	454	1,006 (982)	5,943

Source : Tokyo Metropolitan Government

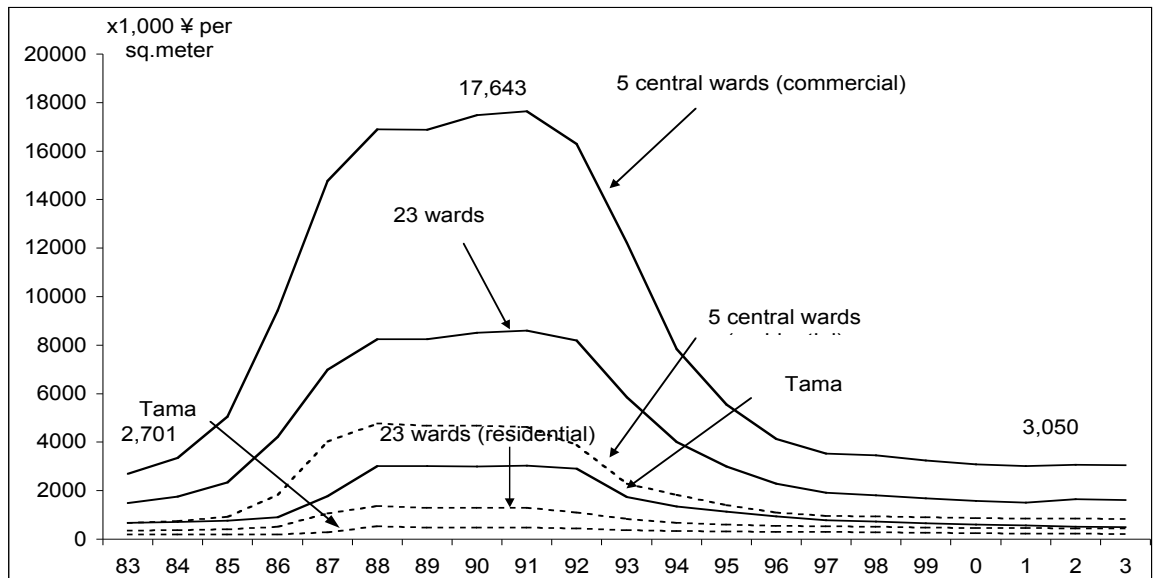
Fig. 1. Inside view of a *nôkotsudô*.



Fig. 2. The Suitengu Shrine and its parking site.



Fig 3. Change in commercial and residential land prices in Tokyo Prefecture from 1983 to 2003



Source: Natacha Aveline (2004), based on official land prices (*Kôji chika*)

Fig 4. A condominium in the precincts of a Shinto shrine, Kagurazaka neighborhood (Shinjuku ward)



Fig. 5. The urban renewal project of the Jofuji Temple (Shinjuku ward)



Comment this photo displays the three new buildings replacing the former Jofuji temple and its graveyard: the new temple with its *nôkotsudô* on the left, the 6-story condominium on the right, and the office skyscraper in the background.

Fig.6. The new religious buildings and the residential tower of the Mori Biru renewal project in Atago (Atago Green Hills).



Table 3. Construction of non-religious facilities in the precincts of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines in Tokyo's four central wards (2003)

	Total number	Graveyard and/or <i>nôkotsudô</i>	Multistory building	Parking facility	Building or <i>nôkotsudô</i> under construction
Chiyoda ward					
Inari jinja	8				
Other shrines	11		4	1	0
Temples	4	1	1		0
Total (inari excluded)	15	1	5	1	0
Chuo ward					
Inari jinja	20				
Other shrines	17		3	2	0
Temples	19	0	5	2	0
Total (inari excluded)	36	0	8	4	0
Minato ward					
Inari jinja	15				
Other shrines	33		3	5	3
Temples	202	148	22	33	10
Total (inari excluded)	235	148	25	38	13
Shinjuku ward					
Inari jinja	11				
Other shrines	34		0	3	0
Temples	138	86	22	26	0
Total (inari excluded)	172	86	22	29	0

Source : Data compiled by the author using housing maps, *Jûtaku chizu*, 2003.

¹ The Tokyo Metropolitan Area includes the 23 wards, the Tama zone (26 cities, 3 towns and one village), the Izu Islands and the Ogasawara Islands.

² Purely private companies (*kabushiki gaisha*) were granted the right to develop, but it was soon regarded as prejudicial to the “eternal” nature of ownership of burial sites cemeteries in 1965. The large private cemeteries developed by the Keio and Seibu railway groups in Tokyo's western suburbs are a legacy of this temporary system.

³ However, Buddhist communities and private developers have started to supply burial sites with limited ownership over time (combined with eternal prayers), in order to solve various problems, such as the excessive cost of the graves, the eternal rights impeding the turn-over of burial sites, and more importantly, the growing number of persons without anyone to take care of their grave.

⁴ Cremation is compulsory all over the country, except in small remote rural areas. It concerns 98% of the deceases nationwide.

⁵ A *kaimyô* is a posthumous name that gives the spirit a new identity fitting to its state as belonging not to this world but to the world of the dead and of the ancestors. *kaimyô* are carved on mortuary tablets, put on the *butsudan* (family Buddhist altar enshrining the ancestors) and behind the grave.

⁶ For example, a *kamyô* using the ideogram *dai*, which means “great”, will be particularly expensive.

⁷ A Shinto ruler named Yoshida Kanemote had launched distinctive Shinto funerals as early as in the XVth century, in an attempt to break the Buddhist monopoly on death. However, Shinto funerals remained marginal (Macé, 1995).

⁸ There are no graves nor mortal remains or ashes in the precincts of the shrines for the war dead.

⁹ The Shitamachi is the traditional and popular residential zone of Eastern Tokyo.

¹⁰ The separation of religion and State had also a devastating effect on Buddhist temples, though to a lesser extent.

¹¹ After the Meiji Restoration, land was leased gratis to Buddhist temples, and Shinto shrines were brought under state sponsorship and control. Freedom of religion, after 1945, required that religious institutions should be given control over the land necessary for the performance of their religious functions. In 1946, 72,732 shrines and 30,609 temples claimed titles on what they regarded as their rightful property.

¹² The common sorts of charms are called *o-mamori* and are small colourful brocade bags on which the name of the shrine and the benefit desired are written. Inside the bag is usually a piece of paper or wood inscribed with a prayer. The charms concern a wide array of human needs, such as birth, educational success, traffic safety, family happiness, business prosperity and so on. They provide the shrines with substantial earnings.

¹³ *Inari* shrines are very small worship places dedicated to the fox deity associated with business prosperity, often occupying less than 50 square meters. Mostly disseminated in the peripheral wards of Tokyo; they can also be seen on the top-floors of office buildings and department-stores in the Ginza central business district.